

/160 cont./

439 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
439 back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth
[554] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldeia; ⁷Antonio accom-
panied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not
make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned
to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with
the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When
toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[357] walk to the roça. ²Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de
lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-
green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrf boys are no
different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was
bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in
reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is
291 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts,
199 trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed
our help, not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and up-
side down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over
their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on
a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the
most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety
pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
442 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone
ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with
which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation
no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished
with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompany-
ing thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.

/Illustration appears here./

²[i.e. village -- Analyst]

²[i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 40]

/164 cont. /

415 Countless gourd vessels /cuyen; see glossary, p. 170 / and
531 calabashes, brownish-yellow, some of them painted black in
designs not without taste.

411 In the lower roof-basket are stuck the arrows, averaging
two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of
two and a half meters. The arrows, made of ubá, have simple
wood or bone points; at the end of the shaft broad feathers are
set spirally.

• 237 Feathers, even bunches of them and whole tail rosettes,
415 are kept in mats placed together portfolio-like; spindles, pig-
ment, bones, root pieces, shells, and the like are kept in small
baskets and nets. On the cords of the hammocks are found as
412 decoration a couple of feathers or shells and -- the comb. This
[284] toilet article consists of small, narrow sticks placed next to one
another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means
of a plaiting of cotton threads; the hard sticks project beyond
the lower cross-stick as the teeth of the comb.

286 The hammocks are (one can hardly say woven, but rather
knotted. Two posts stand in the ground; they are wound with a
skein of cotton in the way that our women wind knitting wool on
a chair; through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads
are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and
knotted; the parts of the skein which lie close to the post and
are not knotted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed
together) form the loop that receives the hammock ropes.

285 A plaited matting above the door and sieves of alternating
black and light straw are worked with a natural artistic sense.
The fire is fanned with a triangular piece of matting.

302 The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind
the ears, hangs down to the shoulders; the forehead is almost
completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with
thick red color during the visit on the river. No ornaments. Only
301 the old woman wears a string over her left shoulder, which goes
under her right arm; three trouser buttons, which she cut off from
us and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

/169 cont./

126 [301] I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose; he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. --

301 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck
237 in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

562 Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman
[554] here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair.

[302] One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 The two large huts were round, the two small ones ellipti-
345 cally long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut,
353 we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the
292 head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied
532 crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 168-162/.

/170 cont./

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art,
/171/ the most interesting article was: a burití shirt -- "the"
shirt of the upper Schingú -- which proved the invention of
[286] clothing even among the Bakairí. The fibers were knotted
in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the
doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it
had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which
long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long burití-fiber
hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had
small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells,

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In the Bakairí festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle
534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle
instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds,
impaled on a stick (1).

[171]

1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin
Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows
like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure
scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a
little stick through it, cut a little hole in
it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

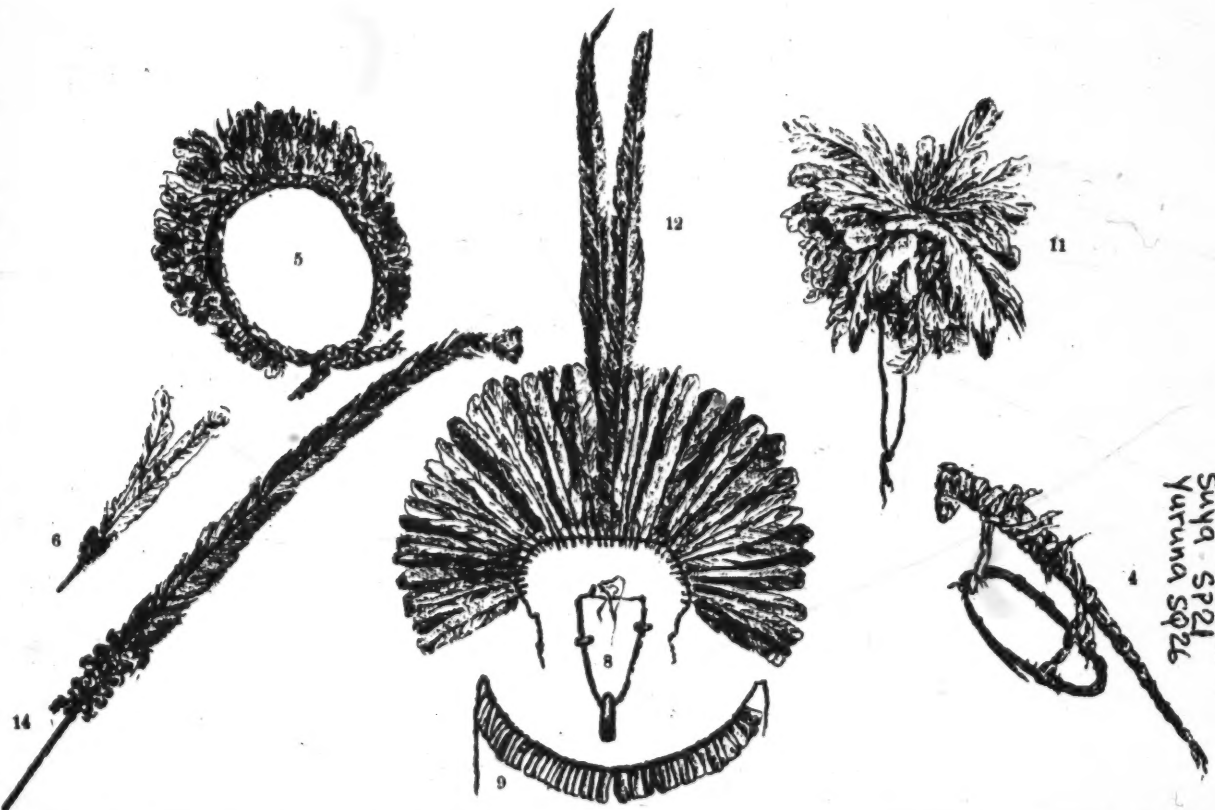
1: Steinen--162 D.E-5 (1884) 1886

SP7 Bacairi SP7
 Trumai SP23
 Suyu SP21
 Yuruna SP26

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B
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 301
 237

B
 301
 237



/See caption on following page./

1: Steinen--163 DE-5 (1884) 1886

SP7 Bacairi SP27
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SP26

B
292

532 /From Ethnological Pl. I: 4, Bakairi headdress

301 from the festival hut; 5, Bakairi straw wreath

• 237 with feathers; 6, Bakairi ear feathers; 8-9,

T Bakairi necklaces (8, stone disks; 9, pieces of

292 shell and also popular among the Suyá); 11,

301 Trumai feather-cap; 12, Suyá feather-diadem;

S 14, Yuruna ear-feather. /

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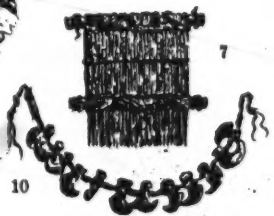
1: Steinen--164 D, E-5

(1884) 1886

SP7 Bacairi SP7
Suya SP21

B
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/From Ethnological Pl. I:

7, Bakairi comb, 10, Bakairi necklace
of jaguar claws; 13, Suyá feather-diadem.

/75 cont./

301 from the Batovy to the Kulisehu. I was confronted by one
438 woman who wore nothing but a copper button on a string on her
breast, and on this button was the 8 of the eighth Cuyaban battal-
ion, to which our soldiers had belonged at that time. "Is it tuchú,
301 stone?" asked these living prehistorics. Of course, the beads
were likewise stone, and, on account of their gay colors, they
153 preferred them to gold, which left them quite indifferent. I
177 had given them a few pins and had also showed them a needle,
the only one that I had with me: they brought a pin back to me
and asked me to make a hole in it, like the one in the needle.

Most peculiar was the alacrity with which they classified
the things unfamiliar to them among those that were familiar to
them and also immediately assigned familiar names to them
directly and without any restrictive additions. They cut their
412 hair with sharp shells or the teeth of the piranha fish, and my
237 scissors, the object of unreserved delight, which cut hair so
smoothly and evenly, were simply called "piranha tooth." The
mirror was "water!" "Show the water," they cried when they
wanted to see the mirror. And I made a much slighter impression
with it than I had expected.

The compass was called "sun," the watch "moon." I had
showed them that, no matter how I turned and twisted the case,
the needle always pointed to the highest position of the sun, and
the very similar watch, whose spring they said was a hair, seemed
to them the natural counterpart, for the /76/ special reason that
it "did not sleep at night." Often in the middle of the conversa-
tion they would demand that I take out the watch, and then they
would laugh very contentedly when it was actually awake and
ticking.

Nothing would be more erroneous than to think that this
sincere curiosity and admiration was based on an actual thirst
for knowledge or a deeper need of understanding. They never got
beyond the question: "Did you make that?" No, I simply did my
circus act, I displayed my tricks, and they were pleased that at
any moment I could show them in all elegance and never dis-
graced myself. The most baffling example of superficial satisfaction

/92 cont. /

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long
row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

áma, you = that is you. ehé úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I.

bakaírf úra, I (am a) Bakaírf. kxaráiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe.

bakaírf kxúra, (the) Bakaírf (are) good. kxaráiba iwakulukúlu,

(the) Karaiben (are) very good. píma áma? (are) you (the) chief?

píma úra, I (am the) chief.

123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaírf and admired him
and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors,
buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that
in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated,
and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings,
but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight
from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm,
in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution
of the Kulisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the
Trumaf still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated,
much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses,
we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called
it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae.
During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick
wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance
costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference,
covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koálu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

/93 cont. /

126 stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on
 534 Plate 6, others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar deco-
 283 rated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that
 301 is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable
 237 cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation
 177 and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these
 third Bakaïrî it was clearly shown that we were with the section
 of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all
 kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such
 439 here. The Bakaïrî do not make any pots themselves and do not
 323 themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone
 axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came
 from the Mehinakû /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the
 Trumaf. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented
 an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head,
 tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently
 worked out. From the Auetó we found a half-broken clay doll;
 also originating from the Mehinakû, balls of finely spun cotton;
 from the Trumaf and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own
 possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a
 ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

648 We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was
 732 obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is
 strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú
 of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrî among them, the Yuruna
 likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems
 to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become
 stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens
 entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photo-
 graphs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there
 was a pronounced Sémític type, of which Plate 13, represents a
 classic example. The people submitted to everything and called
 the caliper compass nûna, "moon." Only one man was indignant
 when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in
 all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large
 153 beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements
 1 [See p. 138 -- Analyst]

B /96 cont./

226 bait pulled the happy fisherman out into the middle of the river, to our
 B amusement. Several fish hooks were bitten off by the piranhas. After
 [237] some examination, the Indians carefully removed the lower jaw, which

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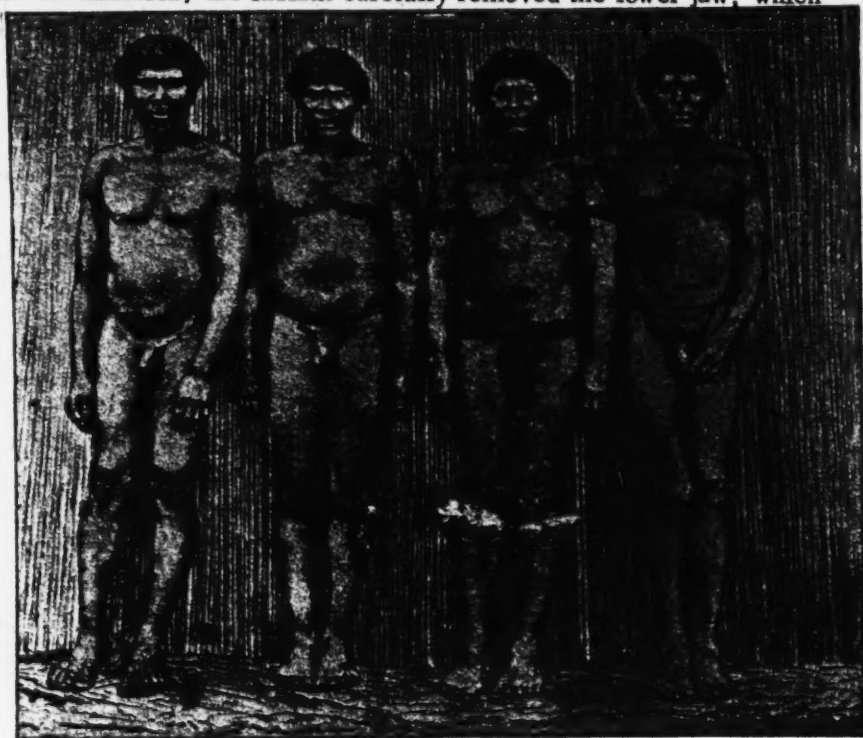


Fig. 4. Nahuquá.

B
 226
 237 they use for cutting threads and also for hair cutting.

Y
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 237 Wilhelm and I, whose boat, as usual, along with Tumayaua's, was
 ahead of the others, were the first to arrive at the actual harbor and
 there surprised three individuals who seemed not a little frightened:
 a good-looking, sturdy youth about 18 years old, the prototype of
 Crevaux's Rukuyenn /Rucuyen/ in Guiana, whom Tumayaua designated
 as pîma iméri, the son of a chief, a small boy, and, as the third,
 a young Mehinakú.

/175 cont./

*171
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the cut desired by him, went a step further and cut off at the roots a part of the hair falling down in back and on the sides. The additional advantage connected with this was that, during combing, the hair could easily be evenly distributed on all sides. The tonsure of the Indians extended chiefly downward over the back of the head (cf. Fig. 14 /see p. 170 /). The Suyá men, on the other hand, with their tonsure of Apostle Paul, went further in the removal of the hair falling over the forehead and, instead, wore their hair hanging down to their shoulders

[142]
[301]



Fig. 11. Bakaïf girl.

in back or knotted up. Long back hair and the crown tonsure do not occur together. Copying the priests was not required for this simple procedure.

/176/ All the other body hair, with the exception of the eyebrows, was shaved or unhesitatingly plucked out. The lashes were not, as among the Yuruna on the lower Schingü, placed on a tucum thread and torn out all at once with a jerk, but were pulled out one by one at the earliest age of the children. The shaving of the tonsure was done with a tip of spear grass; these razor blades were kept planted near the house.

The hair was cut with the teeth of the piranha fish. I never saw among

[824]
[442]

[237]

/179 cont./

*171 although he understood not a word of Bororó, was her son stolen
304 years before by enemies; she wailed and lamented loudly all
619 night long; then it was strange to see how the Bororó carefully
undertook to examine on the half-laughing, half-outraged Antonio
his lower lip, which among them is pierced as early as infancy
and unanimously set him free when, instead of their little lip-
hole, they found a pierced nasal septum. Thus among the
[48] Bakaíri there were abducted Paressí women; among the Nahuquá,
Mehinakú women; among the Suyá, the captured Manitsauá,
who were immediately distinguishable from the rest by the tribal
marking. /180/ The artificial injury thus developed into a regu-
lar arrangement for expediency. Moreover, the foreign was re-
*171
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[301] garded as ugly or comical, the indigenous as beautiful and noble.

The piercing of the ear lobes is generally widespread among
the men of all tribes. It serves solely for feather ornaments.

• [239] Among no tribe of the Kulisehu do the women have pierced ear-
lobes, and no woman wears feather ornaments of any kind any-
where else on her body; the woman does not hunt -- the origin
from the hunting trophy is still unmistakably distinct. The ear
of the boy is pierced at the time when he begins to practice with
a small-sized bow and arrow.* /Fig. 12 appears here./

*Among the Suyá men and women wear rolls
of palm leaf strips in the slit-open ear-lobe,
which is gradually extended into a long rein,
but here, too, feather ornaments are confined
to the men.

The piercing of the lower part of the nasal septum, so that
the alae, slightly turned upward, rest on the object stuck through
it, is found only among the Bakaíri, on the Paranatinga and Rio
Novo, on the Batovy, and in the first Kulisehu village among both
sexes, in the second Kulisehu village only among the men, in
the third neither among men nor women. This geographical

[48] distribution makes it seem not improbable to me that the custom
is based on that of the Paressí, /181/ who were formerly in active

/181 cont./

*171 contact, sometimes peaceful, sometimes hostile, with the western
304 Bakaïrî, of whom we still found two women, kidnapped as children,
[648] in the Paranatinga village. The Paressî pierced the ear lobes of their
women so that they could always be distinguished from the Bakaïrî
women, and their men pierced the nasal septum, inserted a little

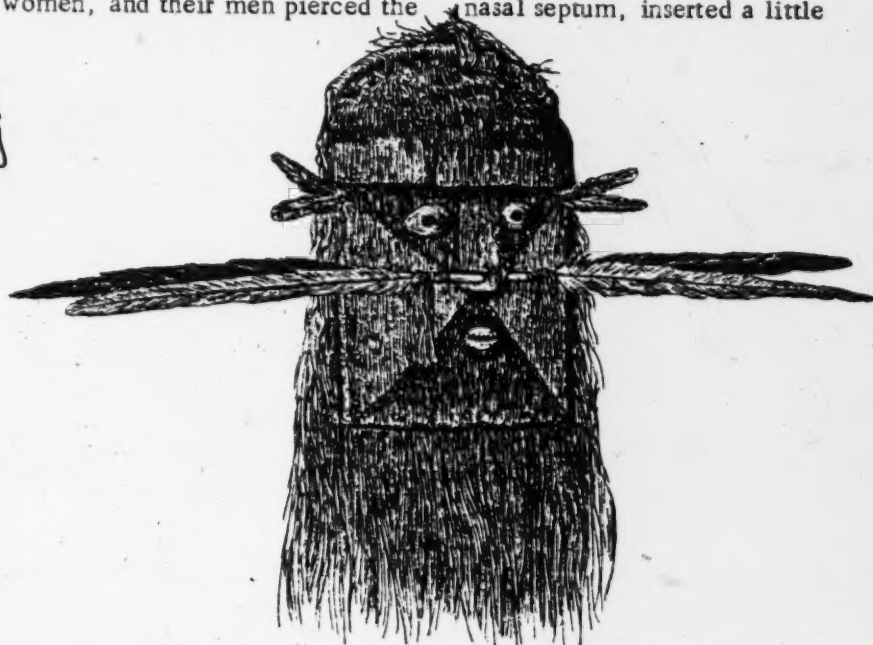


Fig. 12. Wooden mask of the Bakaïrî, with ear and nose feathers.

piece of reed in it, and stuck into only one end of this a long arara feather or ordinary toucan feather, whereas the ear ornament of the women consisted of a little triangular piece of nut shell.

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[532] Among the Bakaïrî today feathers are no longer worn in the nose, but we found masks with a hole in the elongated septum of the wooden nose, through which an arara feather stuck into a piece of reed projected out on either side. There is also a difference in the size of the hole among men and women, to which my attention was especially drawn by the Bakaïrî themselves; in it the men wear a thin piece of kambayuwa reed, in which the feather or a thin bone is inserted, the women a thick kambayuwa peg or a thick bone or stone. The latter is never used by the men.

/181 cont./

- 000 or stone. The latter is never used by the men. On the Kulisehu
 * 171 we collected a few ornamental stones made out of grayish white
 301 quartzite with a dull shine, which were ground into the shape of
 [321] a pointed spindle and were six centimeters long. We saw the
 nose-spindle, natáko, in actual use only in the case of a preg-
 nant woman, who also had many ornaments hanging around her
 [317] neck. These stones came from the Batovy or the Ponekuro, the
 right source-river of the Kulisehu; they were said to be rare, so
 that ordinary bones or reed had to help out. We also obtained
 • [237] bones of similar shape, eight and a half centimeters long, and
 a spindle seven centimeters long and gleaming like mother-of-
 [304] pearl, which was cut out of a shell. The operation is performed
 in approximately the fifth year of life and is said to be accom-
 panied by profuse bleeding on occasion.

000 I may add on here the binding of the extremities, although

301



Fig. 13. Ornamental nose-stone of the Bakaïf women.

- * 171 I may add on here the binding of the extremities, although
 301 it was still foreign to our Indians in the degree where it might
 304 be spoken of as a bodily injury. It was much in use among all
 826 the tribes. For this they used thick, wide straw binding, hanks
 [237] of cotton, cotton ropes, or bands crocheted with wooden needles,
 and wore them on the upper arm and below the knee or above
 the ankle. The custom was most striking in the third Bakaïf
 village, where one saw chubby, almost swollen calves. We
 never observed, however, such thick, protruding calves as are
 shown in illustrations of the male or female Karaiben of the north.
 We noticed the straw bindings especially among the Nahuquá
 (cf. Fig. 4 /see p. 71/). /182/ Only the men made use of the
 binding. It makes one strong, I was told by way of explanation.
 [237] As dance ornaments bands decorated with colored feathers are
 worn around the upper arm.

B /182 cont./
*171 Chains. Both sexes adorned themselves with neck chains; the
301 men also wore ornaments on their hip cord. Children and pregnant
women had the most chain-ornaments hung on them. Our beads were
also requested primarily for the children.

The Bakairi, with great pains, made very pretty neck chains,
trophies of the kind of work that was quite popular among the other
tribes, which we also found among the Suyá in 1884; cf. the
B Kamayurá of Figure 14. These are rectangular, slightly convex
*171 pieces which are cut from a convolution of the shell of psu, Orthalicus
301 melanostomus (Prof. v. Martens), two to three centimeters long, one
321



Fig. 14. Kamayurá with shell chain.

B
*171 to one and a half centimeters wide, almost pure white, and known
301 as psu oráli. They overlap on the long side, like roof tiles, and are
321 generally pierced at the top and bottom, but fastened only at the
[283] top with small threads to the neck cord. Especially thick shells were
chosen, broken, and ground on stones. They were pierced with the
B tooth of the dogfish or with the twirling stick, at the end of which was
[412] lashed a triangular splinter of stone; in this way a conical hole was
[237] formed.

B /183 cont./

*171 We found pieces of stalks, pieces of bark, seed kernels,
301 and berries of the most diverse kinds, nut beads from the large
824 and the small tucum palm, fruits of a climbing plant, of a
campo tree takipé, of a plant called (Bakaĩrĩ) udayáki, red
and black seeds of Papilionaceae, of mamona-Ricinus, tonka
beans (Dipteryx odorata), among the Auetõ gourd seeds and
almeisca kernels, and even a small, bottle-shaped gourd seven
centimeters long.

B Among the Yaulapiti, Trumai, and, coming from them,
*171 among their neighbors, stone chains were frequent: pierced
301 disks and cylinders which the Nahuquá imitated in the amber-
T like jatobá resin and in clay. It was the diorite of the stone
171 axes and throwing-stick arrows /Wurfholz-Pfeile/; it was
301 pierced with the stone chip fastened to the twirling stick and
B [321] the addition of sand. Small, pear-shaped stones, such as go with
the darts /Wurfpfeilen/, are popularly hung on children's chains
by the Mehinakú and Auetõ.

Thus there were distinct differences in the material,
which were probably, as is certainly the case with the stones,
locally conditioned. All chains made of white shell pieces
went back to the Bakaĩrĩ, all those of red to the Nahuquá, all
those made of stones to the Trumai or Yaulapiti.

B /184/ Animal material was found everywhere. There
*171 were horn beads and bone beads, the latter also in the form of
301 little rods; they were sometimes strung on individually, some-
237 times joined for whole chains, especially monkey teeth and
T jaguar teeth. Cf. the illustration of the Auetõ chief, page 90.
171 Among the Nahuquá we procured a chain with jaguar teeth
301 and small, colored feathers. The Trumai prized capybara
237 teeth. Among the Mehinakú in particular there was an abun-
dance of children's ornaments, which were hung in bunches on
infants; besides the others, monkey teeth in particular, teeth
of the jaguaririca (Felis mitis), fish vertebrae, bones of the
bagadú fish, once a huge, black beetle-horn. Also claws or
hoofs of the tapir (Kamayurá), jaguar, and deer.

/187 cont. /

* 171 302 daubing. The cotton bands wound the upper arm or lower leg offered a not unpopular motif. One day I saw on the Bakaĩrĩ Kulekule, who was an enthusiastic admirer of mine, a black horseshoe-like arc below either nipple, and when I jokingly asked him what it was, to my surprise he pointed to my boots, which impressed him very much: he had painted the heels on himself. A veritable work of art was displayed by a young Auetõ who was solemnly decked out for the journey with us to Cuyabá -- his father ordered him to accompany us --, but who left us already among /188/ the Mehinakú, in spite of a pot of flour that had been given to take along as provisions. The mereschu lozenge-pattern, which I shall subsequently discuss in greater detail, covered his chest and sides down to the middle of the calves, in contrast to which the lower half of his face and the sides of his neck from the ear to the collarbone stood out with a coating of pure, deep black. Otherwise it was primarily on the festive occasion of a reception or, as among the Nahuquá, for the dance that people decorated themselves with designs. In everyday life there was practically nothing to be seen, just as little as of feather ornaments. When I appeared with my traveling companions from Independencia, almost all of the Bakaĩrĩ of the first village, including the women, received us in a painted state; the smaller grandsons of Tumayaua had been carefully smeared over their whole bodies, and Tumayaua told me specifically that we were supposed to see how pleased the women were.

* 171 304 Scratch-scars. Scratching the skin is a sort of panacea. It is used on young and old and in the same way among all the tribes. With the /Fig. 15 appears here/ scarifier, a triangular piece of gourd shell set with a row of small, pointed teeth of fish (trahira) or claws of rodents (agutĩ), the skin is scratched, allowed to bleed for a while, which is helped by stroking with a bone, and is then rubbed either with yellow loam or with soot or the juice of a fruit (natunsán among the Auetõ). One sees the scratch-scars everywhere, especially on the arms. Actual

/205 cont./

say simply that our Indians were not yet familiar with metals and were, for the time being, dependent on shells, teeth, and wood in their work methods, if only because in large part they did not even have more suitable stones.

And now I have come back to my point of departure. In spite of their agriculture and in spite of their land-clearing with the stone ax, the Schingú Indians were not only able to maintain their hunting, but they had to maintain it, because fishing and hunting provided them, aside from a change of diet, with the indispensable tools for making weapons and implements.

Teeth. The sets of teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmo)*

- * There were two species, a smaller black "piranya preta" or "olho de fogo" (fire eye),



Fig. 22. Fire-eye piranha.
(1/4 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

and a larger "pa, o amarelo" (yellow maw), whose "yellow" is a brilliant orange.

served for cutting. They were opened with any suitable wooden hook and carefully examined: the lower jaw, four centimeters long and containing 14 small, triangular teeth, was then cut out with a shell. Hard things and soft things, the spines of the buriti palms or human hair, but especially all threads and fibers, were cut with the sharp teeth. They called my scissors "piranha teeth." Bamboo and other reeds were scored with them until they could

/205 cont./

be broken off evenly. A scarcely less important tool was furnished by the peixe cachorro, or dogfish, called Cynodon zoologically, which has in its lower jaw two pointed teeth three to three and a half centimeters long, each projecting upward through a hole.

The edge of these teeth, ground knife-sharp, was used for cutting, but chiefly for puncturing, for example, in connection with tattooing, for scratching, for example, in decorating the tortoise spindle disks, and for boring reeds, as in the case of the arrows, in order to put through the threads for fastening the feathers and points. /206/ The triangular pieces of gourd which, as the

scarifier, represented the most important instrument in the little surgery of the Indians, cf. Figure 15 /see p. 179/, were studded with the small, pointed teeth of the trahira fish, Erythrinus. The little teeth of the aguti, Dasyprocta aguti, served the same purpose. Of the rodents, the capybara, Hydrochoerus capybara, fur-

nished indispensable scraping chisels with the front teeth of its lower jaw, the tooth, six to eight centimeters long, was fastened to a piece of ubá reed with cotton thread, or two teeth were lashed together and cemented with a little wax. /Figs. 23-26 appear here./ The arrow holes were likewise bored with the aguti tooth.

Monkey teeth, pierced at the root and artfully plaited together into a chain, were a favorite belt or neck ornament.

Bones. Arm and leg bones of monkeys, which were kept in thick bundles in the little tool basket at home, served as arrowheads. They were ground to shape and, with their hollow tubes, mounted on the stick between the arrowhead and arrow shaft. The tail radiation of the ray was likewise an arrowhead. Small, pointed bones were added as barbs. /207/ Mammal bones had many uses.

The skin treated with the scarifier was rubbed with the thigh bone of the deer; we saw a splinter of a jaguar bone pointed to pierce ear lobes; the wax smeared over the lashing on arrowheads was applied with a bone. The front claws of the giant armadillo,

Dasyus gigas, served man, as well as the animal itself, for digging and grubbing up the ground and were the earth hoe of our Indians.

The spindle disks in many cases came from the ventral piece of the tortoise shell, which was broken to pieces with a stone. Jaguar

/207 cont./

Jaguar

- *171 claws were worn as neck chains, fish vertebrae on the belt cord;
 *237 a bone stuck crosswise through the nasal septum adorned the old
 301 Bakaif.
 304

*171 Shells. Flat river shells were extensively used for cutting, less
 *237 for cutting through than for scoring longitudinally, for scraping, planing,
 412 smoothing. The work shells brought back from the Kamayurá /Fig. 27
 305 appears here/ were identified by Herr Professor von Martens: *tyutsí*,
 324 *Anodonta*, was the shell for scraping the mandioca root, "*maniôka pináp*";

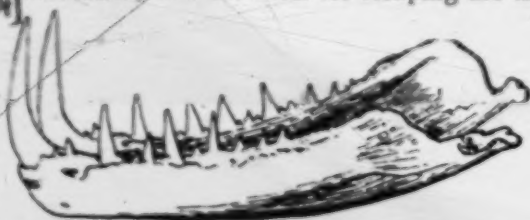


Fig. 23. Dogfish.

(1/1 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

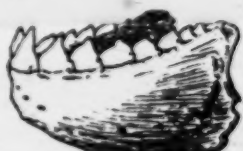


Fig. 24. Piranha.

(1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

[284]
→



Fig. 25. Front claws of the giant armadillo. (Grubbing hoe.) (2/5 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)



Fig. 26. Capybara teeth. (Scraping chisel.) (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

[52] the women sat on a couple of pieces of bamboo placed together, and they scraped, scrubbed, scratched, until their legs disappeared in the heap of parings. This shell also served as a plane to smooth the handle of the stone ax or the oar by means of finer scraping, not with the edge,

/207 cont./

* [171] but with a hole made in the center. The people bit off the outer-
 [237] most shell with their teeth and knocked the planing hole into it with
 [412] the pointed akurí nut. Another type of Anodonta, ita-f, "little
 [302] mussel," was also used for the fine scraping of wood. This and the
 [415] other types were also used to store the pigment with which one
 painted himself red or black; they were usually hung on the
 hammocks. A second large shell for scraping roots was itá,
 [825] "mussel," a variety of the Leila pulvinata Hupé, brought back
 from the Araguay /Araguaia/ by Castelnau. With the largest
 species, itá kuraá, /208/ Unio orbignanus, the bows were
 smoothed, and, to be sure, with the outer surface of the shell.



Fig. 27: Knife-shell and plane-shell.

[825] A flat Hyria, itá mukú, was interesting because it had a sharp,
 pointed extension with which pikí fruits, for example, were
 opened. It corresponds best to our pocketknife, an instrument
 that was regarded very disapprovingly by the Indians because
 they were able to open it only with indescribable effort; they
 were as clumsy with it as we with the unfamiliar twirl-borer.
 The shell was hung around the necks when one set out on journeys;
 the fish and game animals caught were cut open with it; the
 shell was used to hollow out the little depression in the fire-stick,
 in which a second stick was twirled to the glowing point; for
 [301] all carving of wood it was indispensable. Snail shells were used
 in many ways: pieces of Bulimus shells were used for chain orna-
 [825] ments. Cf. page 170. Orthalicus melanostomus sometimes
 dangled in thick hangings on the mask costume.

/208 cont./

* 171 Feathers lend wings to the arrow, on whose shaft end two
 • 237 split halves of feathers are sewed opposite each other in spiral
 301 turns. Otherwise they seem to be used exclusively, but in great
 [411] volume here, for ornaments, such as ear feathers, feather crowns,
 [287] feather caps, feather arm bands, feather cloaks (among the
 Kamayurá), and in hundredfold decoration on small ornaments,
 where little colored bundles hung on hammocks, combs, gourd
 rattles, arrow throwers, masks, etc. The most magnificent ma-
 [825] terial was available, from the yellow, blue, red, and green
 of the arara, toucan, weaver birds, and parrots, from the beauti-
 ful stripes or speckles of the curassows, falcons, and owls, to the
 shimmering white of the herons and storks or the black of the
 urubu vulture. The big, broad, black-and-white striped flag
 [825] of the Harpyia destructor was magnificent.

* 171 The spoils of hunting and fishing therefore offered an
 [237] abundance of the most necessary things; in particular it furnished
 [412] tools for cutting, scraping, polishing, piercing, boring, scratch-
 [433] ing, and digging. Agriculture assured the natives a sedentary
 existence and improved their economic condition, but they still
 remained fishermen and hunters, though to a lesser extent. They
 were hunters without dogs, fishermen without hooks, farmers
 without plow and spade. They afford us an excellent example
 [32] that teaches us how manifold the methods of work for the purpose
 of making a living could have been before the possession of any
 metal technique, an example that warns us about overestimating
 the importance of stone implements, which, of course are pre-
 served the best and most plentifully for posterity, and about
 throwing indiscriminately into the great pot of the Stone Age
 everything that comes before the use of metal and, in comparison
 to the small span of time established for this, must embrace
 unimaginably long periods.

* 171 If one judges culture according to the extent and thorough-
 433 ness with which the surrounding nature is exploited by the human
 511 beings, then our natives certainly did not stand on a low level.
 [227] They hunted and fished with arrow /209/ and bow; they fished
 with nets, catch-baskets, and weir-baskets; they had their fish

/229 cont. /

*171

411

The arrow is by no means a simple work of art; if one compares the arrows of our tribes, among whom an ethnographic leveling has taken place, with the arrows from neighboring regions, one always notices, on careful examination, differences of material or technique. The arrows of the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, those of the Karayá /Caraja/ in the east toward the Araguay /Araguaia/, those of the Paressí in the west, those of the Bororó in the south, as well as those of the Yarumá, always have their distinct characteristics. Like comparative linguistic research, it is possible to carry on comparative arrow research. When we came to a new tribe we often saw with what interest the specimens brought along from the neighbors were examined and judged; aside from our clothes, nothing seemed stranger

[619]

to these people than our lack of bows and arrows. If it is difficult to understand how the Indian imagines that his culture heroes created the individual tribes by bewitchment of the arrow reed that they stuck into the ground, nevertheless it is easy to understand the basic idea that the arrow is the characteristic mark of the tribe; the great sorcerer also chooses for each tribe the type

[824]

of reed that distinguishes its arrows. The kambayuva reed furnishes more delicate, thinner shafts than the ubá reed; the docile Bakaírf, since they have made the acquaintance of rifles, have given up the ubá reed commonly used on the upper Schingú and now have, if not exactly toy arrows, at any rate small arrows in comparison with those of the Schingú. The bows, (1.70 meters), too, have become smaller.

*171

411

● 237

The simplest arrow consists of the feathered reed shaft and, driven into it, a thin stick of wood which protrudes a third of a meter and is slightly pointed. Below the point there is sometimes fastened a small barb, for which a small tooth or preferably the maxillary spike of the great ant-bear is used. Or else a long piece of hollow cylindrical bone from monkey arm or leg bones, whole bundles of which are collected at home and the bone ground down, is driven onto the wooden point at the top. Wax, which is applied with a bone, is used as a binding agent. The ray spine also makes an arrow point. Finally, the barb may be made by placing a curved, double pointed piece of bone into the

B /229 cont./

* [171] laterally hollowed end of the wooden support, lashing it, and
[41] covering it with resin.
[237]

Sometimes a pierced, hollow tucum nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whirring or whistling is heard. /230/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish; those with barbs are exclusively fish arrows. Arrows with sawlike notched wooden points do not occur on the Schingú except among the Yarumá, whom we regard as a southern group of the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ of the Tapajós /Tapajós/.

T The Suyá and Trumai had arrows with long pointed bamboo
[171] knives for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo
[41] splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 36 millimeters wide,
[824] knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

B The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering
* [171] at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of
[41] feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened
[237] in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumference; each flag stands with the plane of its upper part perpendicular on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes, which are made with an agutí tooth and enlarged with a pointed buriti splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow; the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the
[825] feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jakú (Penelope) and mutung (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

/238 cont./

128 I shall discuss the reed diadems and plaited dance costumes in the chapter on masks.

*171 Textile work. The material: pineapple silk, aloe hemp,
283 palm fiber from the tucum and buriti, and cotton. The fibers
286 are put in neat bundles, and twisted on the thigh, but the cotton
tufts, on the other hand, are drawn out into a thread by means
of the spindle likewise made to turn rapidly on the thigh and then
[462] spinning freely. Only the women spin and weave. The fiber
strings serve as the actual tie-threads and ropes; fish nets, carry-
ing nets, in certain cases hammocks, and finally bowstrings are
made of them. Knitting is done with bamboo rods or long wooden
needles that have eyes.

*171
392
285



Fig. 32. Fire fan (1/9 nat. size
/in the original illustration/.)

*171 The spindle is a disk through which is stuck a thin, not very
283 straight, and smoothly worked stick sometimes notched at the tip.
To it is attached a tuft of cotton, freed of seeds, whereupon the
whorl is rapidly turned on the thigh and the whole allowed to
hang; as a result of the even rotation, the cotton is twisted into
a thread. The thread is wound on the little stick, until a thick,
cone-shaped ball rests against the whorl, which prevents it from
slipping off. Diameter of the whorl-disk, five and a half to six
centimeters; length of spindle shaft, 30-35 centimeters. The
● [237] whorl usually consists of a piece of the ventral shell of the turtle,

/272 cont./

^A
^W
 531 beijú turner of the Yaulapiti shows half a mereschu above and below and, in the center, the armored fish decoration of the Auetó, about which, however, I do not know, as I do in the case of the mereschu, whether it has the same meaning among the Yaulapiti.

^A
^W
 283
 531 The spindle whorl offers the richest material in the way of drawings among the Mehinakú, Auetó, and Kamayurá, in equal fashion. While the Bakaíri had whorls of wood and clay, a disk cut out of the ventral carapace of the turtle was used predominantly here and was almost always decorated on one side and not infrequently on both sides. The design was scratched in with the tooth of the dogfish and smeared with saliva and charcoal.

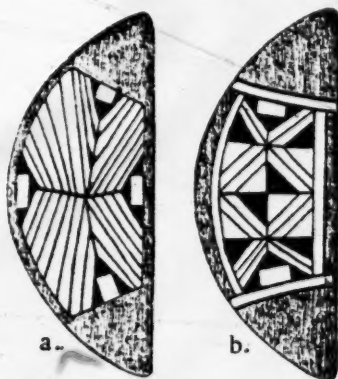


Fig. 54. Beijú turners.
 a. Kamayurá, b. Yaulapiti.
 (1/6 nat. size /as shown
 in the original illustration/.)



Fig. 55. Spindle whorl with
mereschu design
 (Mehinakú.) (1/1
 nat. size (as shown
 in the original illustration/.)

I have already reproduced two turtle spindle-whorls of the Mehinakú on page 291. A similar one of wood is shown in Figure 55. The designer ran into difficulties with his dividing lines. This type is the common one. Occasionally, however, we found whorls that show great progress. On the small work surface, a sure hand is developed and purely artistic motifs are produced. In order to demarcate the mereschu all around, a concentric circle used to be drawn close to the

/277 cont./

*171 the animal motif is predominant here. Aside from the fact that
532 the pots are made to look like gourds, from which they probably
825 arose, it is solely and entirely a matter of imitation of animals.
[535] Only in the dance art is there an equally inexhaustible abundance
of motifs which arise from the joy in the hunting life and its ob-
servations.

*171 The plastic art, too, still permits one clearly to recognize
532 that it was originally merely descriptive. We must not expect
to be able to trace its course back as far as in the case of draw-
ing, the best efforts of which still remain a sort of cartographic
enumeration of the characteristic features and preserve these
even in the geometric modification, but we have here another
indication which is no less clear. In the fashioning of bodily
forms the material that is being worked on comes to the fore
much more than in the incising of lines. Just as rhyme often
furnishes the thought, so does a form already present often
furnish the motif. Thus, there is a very striking frugality shown
in the characteristic features that are stressed; any small re-
semblance is sufficient to define the object as a particular crea-
ture. On a higher level, the native adorns a utensil with a
freely invented motif, and this then sinks into geometric styli-
zation exactly like the drawings.

*171 /278/ Small chain-figures. The meager characterization
301 is most striking in the small figures which are kept on the neck
532 chains, mostly those of babies and very small children, between
the seed kernels, the shell beads, and the nut beads. The ma-
terial is wholly unimportant. A piece of the convolution of the

● [237] rose-colored snail shell has an edge which runs into irregular
projections and indentations: that is a crayfish. The Bakaïrî
[237] cut birds and fish out of the shell of the caramujo branco,
[136] Orthalicus melanostomus. We see a shield-shaped piece, the
body, which at the bottom continues into a narrower tail and
at the top into a sort of neck piece (Fig. 63). This "neck piece,"
however, is the head, commonly pierced at the side to receive
the string, and seems to be treated quite indifferently. If
the tail piece is notched like a fin, we have before us a fish
instead of a bird. /Figure 63 appears here./

/278 cont./

*171
301
532
[324] In like manner, small pieces of the greenish, black-speckled stone of the stone axes are: fish if they are flat, or birds if the roller-shaped body flattens out into a tail. Nature is helped along somewhat by grinding. In Figure 64, page 313, the first two chains show pierced stone disks (two to three centimeters in diameter) and stone cylinders (three centimeters long) between the nut-beads, such as are made by the Trumaf and Yaulapiti, in the third, the figures of the Nahuquá are made of clay; in the fourth copied by them out of the transparent, amber-like jatobá

resin (Hymenaea); the third chain also contains an amber bead. A bird is strung on the first and fourth chain. The stone bird, with a small knob recognizable as a beak, is designated as a dove. The pear-shaped stones of the darts, in a small size, are also worn on the chains, tied on, not pierced, and, to be sure, we also found them imported among the Mehinakú, who have neither stones nor throwing sticks.

Similar figures are carved out of nut shells and bones. Among the Mehinakú we acquired a



Fig. 63.

• [237] Bird figure made out of mussel shell. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

piece of bagadú fish-bone seven centimeters long, a square with bow-shaped flared sides, which represents a quadruped, while a smaller piece represents a ray with the tail and beside it the ventral fins. Unfortunately, I discovered too late that there was always a definite meaning attached to the figures and am therefore unable to say what some of them mean. All guessing is pointless here.

B /279 cont./

285 mention, nor the surrounding figures, nor the construction of
 532 twigs made this likely. All doubts vanished, however, when the
 Indian showed us, inside two squares, which were otherwise made
 up merely of crosswise twigs, several narrow, and in themselves
 quite meaningless, stretches of plaiting on which was wound a
 little yellow straw, and then explained: "capybara teeth." In
 B other words, teeth of Hydrachoeus capybara or water hog, the
 [237] large rodent characterized by huge incisors, the chisel of the
 [136] natives. One had to admit that the outlines were roughly
 [412] similar, but no European would have hit upon this correct inter-
 B pretation by himself. Finally, we saw in the artists' hut of the
 * [171] Auetó a plaited strip which they designated for us as "fish bones."
 It was the same figure as No. 5, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

Y I would have referred to these examples earlier, along with
 285 the drawings, and not here if they had not been connected with
 524 peculiarly plaited figures or dolls which we found among the
 532 Nahuquá. Of the two illustrations 65 and 66 /see p. 315/, the
 one is easily understandable and suitable for a kindergarten, it
 represents a /280/ toad; the other, however, I, at any rate,
 would not have interpreted correctly even if I had thought about
 it for a year. We have to recognize it as a deer! And actually
 it is quite simple. First I need to start out that it is an animal;
 then the sharply protruding corner piece /Figs. 65-67 appear
 here/ to the right must be the head, and thus I have a four-footed
 animal, whereas I do not pay any attention to the three peaks
 on the back, since a Nahuquá is not familiar with a dromedary
 or a camel, to say nothing of an animal with three elevations
 on its back. It must, moreover, be a type of quadruped for which
 the tail, since it is missing, is not characteristic. What I see
 in the way of feet, however, corresponds most closely to the
 hoofs of the deer. Thus, I come slowly limping along behind
 the Nahuquá with my conclusions, while the Indian of another
 tribe, after brief reflection, finds the correct solution by himself.

80 Inasmuch as I considered the Bororó in connection with
 285 the drawings, their analogous Froebel toy might be taken up in
 524 this connection. The folded piece of palm leaf, Fig. 67 left
 532 /see p. 315/ represents a "Bororó woman," that is to say, it is

/283 cont./

*171 its course with the furrow of the spine as well as where it ends with a
524 somewhat deeply cut division, is free of all schematization. The
532 head reminds one of that of an Eskimo in its round hood, which is
the result, first of all, of the absence of a neck, and then of the
shallow depression dug out below the hair line for the face and in
which the nose was left standing. In the case of the loam man of
the Bakaïrî, it can be seen on closer inspection that there was
also a depression (but extremely shallow) for the face.

*171 Wax figures. Again, as in the
●239 case of maize, merely an artistic
532 way of preserving the material.

125 The black wax was shaped into
pretty little animal figures,
and, to be sure, most attrac-
tively among the Mehinakû,
and thus hung up or placed in a

basket until needed. Among the Bakaïrî we found a human figure
better modeled than the loam dolls. The civilized Indians con-
verted to Christianity have modified their saints out of wax and sell



Fig. 72. Wax figure:
peccary. Mehinakû. (1/2
nat. size /as shown in the
original illustration). /



Fig. 73. Wax figure: karijo dove.
Mehinakû. (1/2 nat. size /as shown
in the original illustration/.)

them. The plastic wax best revealed what the artists could do.
Some animals were very well modeled, for instance, the small
peccary or tayassu, 6.5 centimeters long, of Figure 72, Dicotyles
torquatus. The eyes are represented by a pair of small plates of
shell, the nostrils of the proboscis put in deeply. Of other
mammals we also saw the large swamp deer and a howling mon-
key in the form of wax figures. More common were the hanging

/283 cont./

*171 birds, often painted red. In illustration 73 /see p. 319/ we see
 •237 a karijo dove; the figure, 15 centimeters long, with the short
 532 wing stumps, turned out very stiff.
 825

532 Wooden figures. In discussing the dance ornaments I shall
 535 deal with the carved and painted wooden masks separately. The
 825 Bakaïrî, whose festival finery consisted mostly of straw caps, straw suits, and straw animals worn on the head, carved birds of light wood for their headpieces.



Fig. 74. Wooden figures: falcon and massarico. Bakaïrî. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)



Fig. 75. Wooden fish of the Batovy Bakaïrî. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

In 1884 we brought back from the Batovy a wonderful head-structure (illustrated in Durch Centralbrasilien, page 322 /see 1:Steinen, this file, p. 16/), where seven colorfully painted birds are mounted on three long rods wound with flocks of cotton, /284/ birds which at that time I took to be swallows, but in the meantime have been

able to identify as sanyassú (Tanagra sayaca Neuw.).

Those shown in No. 74 are similar birds, the larger of which represents a falcon, the small one the nimble shore birds: massarico (Calidris arenaria); there were many of them in the third Bakaïrî village on the Kulisehu. The neck is sharply set off from the body, a few lines show the markings of the feathers and a long stalk stuck

[30]



Fig. 76. Mandioca digger as a back-stick. Bakaïrî. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

through the body on the right and left and with its ends coming together again at the bottom represents the legs.

/303 cont. /

532 part projects with considerable curvature. They also have a huge
535 nose of human shape, which, along with the rest, is carved out
[237] of one piece. The mouth consists of a set of piranha teeth pasted
on with wax. The eyes are small holes decorated with little
pieces of mother-of-pearl, or they appear in two masks as a pair
of river mussels pierced in the center. Hoods, from which, as al-
ways, long straw hangings flutter down, are plaited on the wooden
plates for putting them on the head. In the places corresponding
[237]
[619] to the ears, the Bakaíri were in the habit of inserting two beauti-
ful yellow japú feathers (Cassicus), which they themselves wear
as a sort of tribal mark. These feathers are also to be noted on
the costume of the man with the imeo cap (cf. page 344).

532 Six of the masks were identified for us as bird masks. We
535 have, first of all, a mask, Fig. 94 /see p. 351/, which represents
825 a dove, papadūri, secondly a /304/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here/
/305/ gull mask, kakaya, see Fig. 44, page 289, thirdly the
mask of a small bird unknown to us, which is said to live along
lagoons and is called alapūbe, Fig. 95, fourthly the arakuma mask,
which represents a cock of the woods and is characterized by a
wooden stem representing the head ornament of the animal, Fig.
96, and, finally, two tūwetūwe masks, one with a black indented
decoration, the other with a red one, which refer to a songbird
with a white head and red shoulder markings, Fig. 97. Of the
bird masks described, only the gull mask (cf. the illustration on
page 289) has the mereschu decoration, and it may doubtless be
assumed that this is supposed to characterize the fish-catching
water bird, since the mereschu is not shown in the net but
separately.

The two most attractive masks were called yakuá-ikúto, that
is, "piranha picture." They bear red cheek markings; on the one
specimen we see two red triangles with the tips touching between
nose and mouth, and the triangles are so large that each takes up
one-fourth of the plate. (Cf. Fig. 12, p. 168.) By means of this
painting the larger piranha species of those waters, the papo
amarello (yellow throat) of the Brazilians, adorned with a brilliant
orange, is reproduced. The eyes are pierced shells. The

[Text Continues on p. 352]

/305 cont. /

532 handsomest decoration of these two masks, however, are the
 535 enormous arara feathers inserted in the elongated nasal septum
 825 and projecting far to the right and left. They are inserted into
 237 a little bamboo rod decorated with tassels. Thus the Indians are
 so far from feeling obliged to give the animal represented its
 zoological physiognomy that they even pierce its nasal septum
 and adorn it with feathers, in accordance with their own custom.

535 We came across three fantastic dance costumes in the flute
 house of the third Bakaïrî village. Only one, however, was still
 in good condition. It was called kualôhe and looked like a small
 hut. This straw costume was truly a small house, and hence it is
 probably on account of the straw covering that the Bakaïrî call
 their dance costumes, including the buriti doublet provided with
 trouser legs and sleeves, "houses." The straw hoods were also
 called "head houses." The expression, however, when the word
 was transferred to our woolen shirts and cloth trousers, became
 incomprehensible. The monster was much too heavy for us to take
 along; it was almost ten meters in circumference at the bottom.
 It was constructed like a huge crinoline with five cross-hoops
 heavily covered with straw, but was worn on the shoulder with
 two bast loops attached to the upper ring. One of the Indians
 obliged us by crawling into it; he put on the tüwetüwe mask and
 went into twisting and rocking movements. The hollow tree lying
 in front of the festival hut was beaten as an accompaniment to the
kualôhe. "It is not a makaniari," the Bakaïrî say. I do not know
 whether they meant that it was of foreign origin. Also, I am un-
 [136] able to decide whether there is a connection between this dance
 and the kurimatá fish (Salmo curimata), which in Bakaïrî /306/
 is called koálu. At any rate, the tüwetüwe mask, which the native
 [532] dancing before us put on, does not go with it, but rather a kuábi
 sieve-mat. A sieve-mat consisting of little reed rods plaited to-
 gether was provided with feather ornaments and worn in front of
 the face. This rush mask, or kuabi, however, lay in shreds on the
 ground.

/321 cont./

*171| than external similarity in common with the fish net stretched in
532 a frame in the same shape. If the Indian had hit upon the idea of
535 the mask-hoop by starting from the shape of the face, he would
have used the entire field for the face, whereas the latter now
takes up only a part of the space and is treated with less care than
the painting. The fish makanari of the Bakaïrf is nothing but a
net with narrow meshes and thus suitable for holding the loam.

- [237] The net hood attached to it could be there today for the sake of
the feather ornamentation, since the feathers must be tied into
the meshes, but for this reason it is just as likely possible that
the net is older than the feathers, which are otherwise missing on
the hoods. Perhaps our oldest oval plaited mask, therefore, is
merely the fish net added to the straw costume and decoratively
fashioned. In this case it is far easier to understand why the
characterization of the animal is so little emphasized; the net
was decorated and even characteristically decorated, but it was
not incorporated into the costume for the sake of an anatomical
likeness.

171/ 53 This also gives us an explanation of the mereschu design. The
mask -- fish-net was plaited more closely because it concealed
better and could now be painted. But the old, wide-meshed net
was painted on and the little fish set in. There is one point which
seems to me to prove that I am right, a point which is very
strange by itself, but would then be quite easily explained. My
cousin Wilhelm pointed out to me that the Indian always paints
the mereschu design standing, that is to say, the larger diagonal
of the rhombus upright, the smaller one crosswise. This can no
longer be seen on the round spindle whorls when they are finished,
but we watched the incising and observed that the figure was
made standing, and precisely the same thing happened in the
pencil drawings. I could not therefore show the figure on page
288, Fig. 43, horizontally, which would probably have seemed
more natural to us, I therefore also arranged all the spindle
whorls with the mereschus horizontal, and lastly, though more
for fun, I stood the original mereschu, page 286, on its tail.

*171 /326 cont./ They had foot rattles, bunches of hard
 84 fruit shells, and in particular halved pikf seeds which the dancer
 [824] were tied around the ankle of the stamping foot. (Cf. Figure 90,
 page 344.) Clinking shell and nut-shell pendants that hung on
 cotton tassels from neck cords, the shell bundle of the fish
makanari of the Bakaïrf, served the same purpose.

The rattle gourd containing seeds and pieces of mussel
 shells and pierced by a little bamboo stick, which was shaken
 rhythmically with the hand, had the same name as the foot
 rattles* among the Bakaïrf, Nahuquá, and Kamayurá. A strange

* kamitü among the Kamayurá, not maráka
 as in Tupí, which among them means song
 and dance. Auetö teruá and foot rattle
aimára, which could be related to maráka.

sight for us when the adult people with great enthusiasm swing
 the musical instrument of our infants. One would seek in vain
 for the rattle among children. While we saw no rattle gourds
 among the Bakaïrf, they were very numerous among the
 Nahuquá and were provided with all kinds of decorations of
 small feathers, small lumps of wax, and cotton tassels. We
 [237] also found a young turtle impaled on a small stick in place of
 the gourd, and among the Auetö even the blue, polished-
 looking egg of a gallinaceous bird, with a handle more than
 a third of a meter long. Occasionally there were two rattle
 gourds on one handle.

Bottle-shaped gourds were used for rhythmical stamping.
 Round ones with a bamboo tube inserted formed a sort of transi-
 tion to the flute.

In the third Bakaïrf village and among the Kamayurá a
 hollow tree which lay on the ground was used as a drum.

Flutes. A hollow palm nut, six centimeters long, pro-
 vided with two holes into which one blew, served as a little
 pipe. The most popular and accomplished flute, three-fourths
 to one meter long, six centimeters thick, was called méni
 among the Bakaïrf, while among the rest of the tribes it

000/328 cont./

* ^B 171
534 the implement. The Bakairi give it the name yélo, iyelo, which is their word for thunder and lightning combined, something like "thunderstorm." If we wish to speak as they do, we must not call it "lightning," as I did at first, but "thunder," according to its sound. By means of this Bakairi word we also gain an explanation as to why the whizzer stick was used precisely for rainmaking by the Australian medicine-men, who can fly to heaven with it and who carve figures of water flowers on it. They produced thunder and electrical storms with the magical stick; the idea

of rain was secondary.

Feather ornaments and diadems. I have already listed on page 207 the birds that furnish the most important feather ornaments. The feathers were worked into diadems, especially those of the arara, the parrot, the japú (Cassicus), and the falcon. The tail feathers of the arara were usually put on as the center section of the diadem, where they towered high above the other smaller ones. The lower quill end was turned in and tied to strings; in order to cover the exposed quills, a band made of small red or yellow feathers was placed all around. Feathers tied to a straw wreath were made into



Fig. 123.

Ear feathers.
Kamayurá. (1/3
nat. size /as
shown in the
original illus-
tration/.)

a feather wreath encircling the head. Feather hoods were made by tying the feathers (preferably white ones from herons and storks interspersed with small colored feathers), and, to be sure, the

A
237
301
←

B /328 cont./

*171 larger ones, near the center into the meshes of a cotton net;
 237 when the net is pulled over the head, the feathers stand up in
 301 a crest. Feather bands were worn for covering the edge of the
 diadem, around the forehead, and chiefly, rather loosely knotted,
 around the upper arms.

Ear feathers. The Bakaĩf preferred to wear yellow Cassicus
 feathers, cf. the masks on page 351 and Plate 6 /see p. 40/.

A
 [237] The ear feathers are stuck into hulls or fastened to small or large
 [301] sticks of reed. The 24-centimeter long feather staffs of the
 Kamayurá are very dainty and colorful; Figure 123 /see p. 383/,
 unfortunately, cannot reproduce the magnificent colors. I have
 discussed the nose feathers of the Bakaĩf on page 168.

A
 171 Only the Kamayurá had feather cloaks, or more properly long
 235 feather nets, which hung down over the back from a neck cord
 237 and were put together with the feathers of the vulture, sparrow-
 301 hawk, arara, stork, and jakutinga. They belonged primarily "to
 [287] the yakui dance," yakuf-áp. Long buriti hangings fell in front
 over the forehead. The Kamayurá also had bunches of human hair,
 30-40 centimeters long, which were plaited on a head-net and
 used in the yauari dance. In addition they also wore small ani-
 mal skins and stretched pieces of skin up to about one-fourth of
 a meter long for the dance.

B
 *171 /329/ Cheaper diadems were plaited out of reed; see Plate
 301 6 /see p. 40/. The Bakaĩf and Nahuquá in particular were con-
 [285] tent with this adornment, which they skillfully plaited out of
 Y strips of buriti or akurí or mostly waimbé and enlivened by alternating
 171 black-colored strips. Among the Nahuquá little reed rods were also
 301 set on in a star-shaped arrangement, like the long center feathers
 [285] of the feather diadems. We also see plain pieces of hard bast
 A (from pata de boi) tied around like a diadem; the Auetó chief
 171 wore a piece of jaguar skin as a diadem, cf. the illustration on
 301 page 90. Finally, the Kamayurá had cotton caps which, like
 [292] the reed diadems out of the feather diadems, for their part de-
 veloped out of the feather hood, as the technique shows.

/329 cont./

*171 All feather ornamentation, except for an occasional feather
 •237 stuck in the ear, especially among the Bakairi, belongs to festive
 301 occasions, including the solemn reception. It is the same with the
 feathers as with the body painting.

*171 Children's games. Among the Bakairi we saw catch-balls
 524 wadded together out of maize straw; instead of the usual long
 feather, a tail of maize straw was tied inside. There were rubber
 balls, huge ones, among the Auetô. The sap of a figueira /Ficus/
 [314] or the mangabeira is rolled into a little ball on the chest, steeped
 in water with ashes, and the ball punctured all around in such a
 way that on the outside it looks as though it were covered with
 [386] plaiting. The balls are dyed red with urucú.

[824] Tops were made from the unripe peanut (Arachis hypogaea) or
mandubí. Twice as big as a cherry, it was pierced and pushed
 onto a small bamboo stick so that only a small part of the latter
 emerged, and here it was wound with a tuft of cotton flocks to
 prevent it from sliding off. The fruit would spin upward on the
 long handle. Several such tops were set in a pot and made to
 spin together.

[526] We must count the wrestling described on page 93 among
 the games of the adults, but children liked to practice wrestling.
 The same was true, of course, of shooting the bow. We also
 saw children's throwing-sticks. Older children played with the
 heavy clay dolls. I was asked several times to perform a sort of
 test of strength in that I was supposed to lift a boy up in the air
 with my free arm. I may add here the observation that the
 Indians were unable to balance a pole on one finger.

/330/

Chapter XII.

000

I. Law and Custom. II. Magic.

I. Property. Kinship. Marriage. Morals. Barter. Names.
 Birth. Couvade and its explanation. Burial.

II. Sorcery in various stages and on various levels of culture.
 Dream experiences. Pars pro toto. Good and bad medicine-men.

/354 cont./

773 is supposed to have acquired from the animals all kinds of goods
811 that he possesses. The most diverse animals were "masters" or
825 "owners" of them and the culture hero took them from them.

The master of medicinal tobacco and of cotton was the kinkajou, Cercoptes caudivolvulus; the master of ordinary smoking tobacco, the electric eel; the master of the mandioca, the bagadú fish Phractocephalus; the master of sleep and the buriti hammock, the lizard; the master of the pots filled with water, from which, after they were broken, flowed the Ronuro and the Paranatinga, the ochobi river-snake; master of the sun, the king vulture, Sarcorampus papa, and so on. How is such nonsense possible? All this, of course, is meant symbolically, says the wearer of the spectacles of civilization, and thus regards the question as answered. I can only laugh heartily when I think of the Indian hunters or fishermen, adhering to their view, as dealing with symbolic animals like the poets, painters, and, not to forget the lower spirits; the patentees of our civilized world inventing their trade-mark -- none of whom maintain close personal acquaintance with the originals of their symbolic animals.

773 No, Antonio and his fellow tribesmen would not have under-
811 stood our type of symbols, let alone discovered some themselves. I do not deny that I was sometimes dumbfounded during our conversation when I was confronted with the simple-hearted belief in the reality of the "fairy-tale" animals and their culture in all its originality, but I was also so thoroughly convinced of its genuineness that I feel duty-bound to reject any explanation that does not fully acknowledge it. I also think the matter is simple enough to understand. The Indian has, in truth, obtained the most important parts of his culture from the persons whom we call animals, and even today he must take them away from them. Teeth, bones, claws, shells are his tools, without which he would be unable to make weapon or house or implement. He owes whatever he can accomplish to the piranha, the dogfish, the monkey, the capybara, the aguti, the giant armadillo, the mollusks, and the legend reports nothing about any of them because every child knows that these animals, the hunting of which is the most important prerequisite for those accomplishments, furnish the most

Plate XII

301
• 237



Fig. 23. a. Diadem of feathers.
b. Pendant for a necklace.
c. Shell necklace.
d. Pendant for a necklace, of a human figure.
Bakairi-Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

301



Fig. 24. a-b. Necklaces of Bakairi-Xinguanos, in
Simões Lopes.

[P. 96-B]

252 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from
415 gourds.

404 As the Bacairi were extensive travelers and
251 depended upon fish for a considerable part of
501 their food supply, canoes were an important part
of their equipment. The Bacairi canoe (pépa)
376 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The
(224) tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-
half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on
the inside of the bark trough to make it curl.
Braces were placed at intervals along the entire
length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was
squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end.

501 Bacairi canoes varied in size, the larger ones being
able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá
bark are used by the Bacairi today and are the
predominant type among the Indians of the
415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairi also made large
(224) tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling
252 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc
contains a fine powder or starch, which settles on
the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the
liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairi
241 formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood.

441 For hunting, they used a bow (fika), round or
(224) slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½
meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish
wood which was first matured by burying it in
mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of
imbanha bark. Arrows (píra) were made from
bams with hardwood or bone points. Hunting
arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for
shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no
feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairi consisted
of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and
449 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over
442 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket sup-
ported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

277 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River,
(177) the Bacairi, in common with the other Upper
Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men
sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (sapia)
around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in
front. Women, after puberty, wore the ubiri.
302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their
hair long at the back but cut straight across over
(224) the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made
by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

[P. 71-A]

392 and was combed with a comb (*aekdji*) made
 4/2 by weaving slender cane teeth into a cotton holder.

301 Although clothing, in the strict sense of the
 237 term, was nonexistent, the Bacairi used, on ceremonial occasions, beautiful, skillfully made ornaments. An important ornament was the *orógo*, a diadem or feather headdress strapped to the forehead. The *orógo* was made by fastening a row of green parrot feathers to a cotton band, above which was fastened another row of yellow weaver bird feathers. Two long blue macaw feathers were set in the center so as to stand straight up above the forehead. The *orógo* was worn only by men. These headdresses are still used, for some were seen in the village of Simão Lopes.

There were at least four kinds of necklaces. The *megedwua* was made from small thin round disks of white or pink snail shell, as many as 400 being strung on a string. This necklace was worn around the neck by women and around the waist by men and girls. The *itwilkéno* was also made from snail shell, but the disks were oblong with holes in both ends through which strings were passed. Although the *itwilkéno* was particularly used by men, women sometimes wore it together with the *megedwua*. The *awuldépi* was a necklace made from black disks of tucum palm nut and could be worn by both men and women at all times. Both men and women also wore necklaces made from the teeth or claws of the jaguar called the *dododépi*. The Bacairi still use the *megedwua*, *itwilkéno*, and the *awuldépi*.

Besides necklaces, the Bacairi used a variety of other ornaments. The *upewaf* were armlets and anklets of cotton material decorated with feathers of different colors. The armlets, which were about 2 inches wide, were fastened tightly above the biceps and were believed necessary for the development of the muscle, with similar bands worn below the knee and around the ankles. Both men and women used the bands. An American missionary who experimented with Bacairi arm bands claimed that they caused him a great deal of distress but he has observed no ill effects among the Indians. The *poi* was a feather ear ornament made from red toucan and yellow parrot feathers suspended from the lobes of the ears. Holes in the ears were made with a sharpened jaguar bone or with a sharpened rhea feather. The *tajiksino*, worn only by men, consisted of two blue macaw feathers

[P. 71-B]

- 301 placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that
 237 the feathers swung one on each side of the head.
 304 Although the *pdiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly
 4/3 an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had
 257 ritual meaning. The *pdiko* was made by setting
 fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for
 scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and
 back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first
 [253] washed with water and later smeared with the
 juice of the *mukina* vine. The *pdiko* was used by
 [188] boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by
 adults who had sores on their bodies. It was
 believed that the use of the *pdiko* made people
 304 strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained
 the Bacairi did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or
 other parts of the body. There was no sign of
 [302] tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out
 231 by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairi
 kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle
 family, in their villages for their feathers. The
 Brazilians call the bird "harpia" and claim that it
 is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin.
 The "harpia" was captured by shooting it with a
 blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and
 fed. Villages often had several of these birds in
 captivity, the feathers being used particularly for
 feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also
 kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial
 decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

- 212 Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairi diet,
 with fish and meat taking second and third places.
 224 The principal animals hunted were monkeys,
 deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar,
 however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its
 skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon
 used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk
 game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driv-
 ing game into water or into steep rocky enclosures.
 There is no mention of the spear being used, but
 226 deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties
 of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow,
 either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards,
 222 turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots,
 tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain
 seasons of the year.
 241 The major part of the food supply, however, was
 obtained through agriculture. The Bacairi cul-
 tivated bitter manioc, *opa*; sweet manioc, *tsiaf*;